01017

1972/09/28

SITUATION: PARIS TALKS
SUBJECT CATAGORY: RVN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

MESSAGE:
IMMEDIATE / PRIORITY
FJJ 327
O P 281228Z SEP 72
FM USDEL FRANCE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6234 AMEMBASSY SAIGON IMMEDIATE 857

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK PRIORITY 4669
AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY 9223
AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH PRIORITY 1403
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
CINCPAC PRIORITY UNN
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 4044
AMEMBASSY SEOUL PRIORITY 4042
AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY 5675
AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE PRIORITY 6548
COMUSMACV PRIORITY UNN

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 USDEL FRANCE 18336

CINCPAC FOR POLAD
FOLLOWING IS ENGLISH TEXT OF GVN OPENING STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR LAM AT 161ST PLENARY SESSION OF PARIS MEETINGS, SEPTEMBER 28, 1972, AS RELEASED TO PRESS.
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN ,
AS I STRESSED AT THE LAST SESSION, UNABLE TO OBTAIN A MILITARY VICTORY AND HAVING FAILED IN ALL YOUR ATTEMPTS TO PROVOKE UPRISINGS IN SOUTH VIET-NAM, YOU NOW ACCUSE THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM AND ITS LEADERS OF BEING OBSTACLES TO PEACE, ACCUSATIONS WHICH ARE TURNING AGAINST YOU YOURSELVES.
IN FACT, BY YOUR NEGATIVE ATTITUDE AT THESE MEETINGS, YOU HAVE UP TO NOW PREVENTED ANY NEGOTIATED SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT FROM BEING FOUND, AFTER HAVING PLUNGED VIET-NAM AND THE INDOCHINESE PENINSULA INTO THE FIRE OF WAR.
IT IS FITTING TO RECALL THAT THE CURRENT CONFLICT IS AN AGGRESSION INITIATED, DIRECTED AND NURTURED BY THE HANOI COMMUNIST REGIME AGAINST SOUTH VIET-NAM, AT THE BEGINNING UNDER THE COVER OF THE SO-CALLED "NLF" WHICH WAS CREATED ESPECIALLY TO THIS EFFECT, PRIOR TO BECOMING AN OVERT AND MASSIVE INVASION OF SOUTH VIET-NAM BY THE NORTH VIETNAMESE REGULAR ARMY SINCE

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By WJB NARA Date 3/6/00

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THE END OF LAST MARCH.
IN BRIEF, IT IS A WAR BETWEEN, ON THE ONE HAND, THE HANOI COMMUNIST REGIME WHICH WANTS TO EXTEND ITS DOMINATION BY FORCE TO THE WHOLE OF VIET-NAM AND, ON THE OTHER HAND, SOUTH VIET-NAM WHICH IS DEFENDING ITS RIGHT TO DECIDE BY ITSELF ITS OWN FUTURE.
IT IS FOR HAVING SUCCEEDED IN PUTTING A CHECK TO THE NORTH VIETNAMESE INVASION, IN NEUTRALISING THE HARMFUL ACTIVITIES OF HANOI'S AGENTS IN THE SOUTH AND IN BUILDING A FREE, DEMOCRATIC AND PROSPEROUS SOCIETY IN SOUTH VIET-NAM, DIFFERENTIFROM THE DICTATORSHIP, THE OPPRESSION AND THE MISERY WHICH ARE PREVAILING IN NORTH VIET-NAM, THAT THE LEADERS IN SOUTH VIET-NAM HAVE BECOME THE TARGET OF YOUR SYSTEMATIC CAMPAIGN OF DENIGRATION.
IT IS THEREFORE AN OBSTACLE TO YOUR OWN AMBITIONS AND NOT AN OBSTACLE TO PEACE WHICH YOU SEEK TO DESTROY WHEN YOU DEMAND WHAT YOU CALL THE CESSATION OF ALL ALLIED SUPPORT TO THE CURRENT REGIME IN SOUTH VIET-NAM AND THE ELIMINATION OF ITS LEADERS AS A PRECONDITION TO ALL SETTLEMENT.
FROM THE BEGINNING UNTIL NOW, YOU ALSO HAVE CONSTANTLY REFUSED TO ENGAGE IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM ALTHOUGH THIS GOVERNMENT LEGALLY REPRESENTS THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE POPULATION FROM WHICH IT GENUINELY EMANATES.
WHILE PEOPLE EXPECT A CHANGE IN YOUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THIS LEGAL GOVERNMENT, NOW THAT IT IS WEDELY PROVEN THAT ITS AUTHORITY IS FIRMLY EXTENDED THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE TERRITORY AND THAT THE POPULATION IS GIVING THIS GOVERNMENT THE SUPPORT IT DENIES TO YOU, YOU OBSTINATELY CLING TO YOUR ABSURD AND UNREALISTIC DEMANDS.
IT IS RATHER THIS OBSTINACY IN MAINTAINING YOUR PRECONDITIONS WHICH CONSTITUTES, WITHOUT ANY DOUBT, THE GREATEST OBSTACLE TO THE SEARCH FOR A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, THEREFORE TO PEACE, FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM HAS NO REASON TO BOW IN THE FACE OF YOUR DIKTAKS AND IT IS ALSO OBVIOUS THAT NO SOLUTION TO THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE POLITICAL PROBLEM CAN BE FOUND OUTSIDE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM.
ANOTHER NO LESS SERIOUS OBSTACLE TO THE NEGOTIATIONS IS YOUR PRETENSION TO PRE-DETERMINE THE FORM, THE COMPOSITION AND THE POLITICAL LINE OF THE GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH VIET-NAM IN THE FUTURE WITHOUT WAITING FOR THE DECISION OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE POPULATION AND AT THE SAME TIME SETTING BY YOURSELF THE PLACE WHICH YOU WOULD OCCUPY WITHIN SUCH A GOVERNMENT.
IN SUM, YOUR FORMULA OF "3-SEGMENT GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL CONCORD" AIMS AT NOTHING LESS THAN GIVING TO YOURSELVES A PREDOMINANT SHARE OF POWER, WHATEVER THE RESULTS OF FUTURE

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ELECTIONS MAY BE, IF EVER THESE ELECTIONS TAKE PLACE,
HOW CAN YOU RECONCILE SUCH A PRETENSION WITH THE RIGHT
TO SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE POPULATION,
A RIGHT WHICH YOU CEASELESSLY REFER TO ?
THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE KNOW ONLY TOO WELL THAT,
THROUGH THIS SUBTERFUGE OF A "3-SEGMENT GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL
CONCORD", YOU SEEK TO IMPOSE YOUR PRESENCE IN POWER REGARDLESS
OF WHETHER THEY WANT IT OR NOT, WITHOUT MENTIONING THE FACT
THAT, PRIOR TO YOUR TAKING OVER POWER, YOU DEMAND THAT ALL THE
STATE AND ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE, AS WELL AS THE POLICY OF
SOUTH VIET-NAM, UNDERGO PROFOUND UPHEAVALS IN ORDER TO LET YOU
HAVE A FREE HAND.
YOU SAY THAT YOU NOW DEMAND ONLY THE DEPARTURE OF THE
ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM AND A CHANGE IN
POLICY IN SOUTH VIET-NAM, AND YOU PRETEND TO BE SURPRISED THAT
YOUR DEMAND, THUS FORMULATED, IS NOT CONSIDERED AS A SIGN OF
FLEXIBILITY ON YOUR PART.
HOWEVER, NO ONE IGNORES THE FACT, THAT IF YOU ARE
EXERTING SO MUCH EFFORT TO TRY TO ELIMINATE THE ELECTED LEADERS
OF SOUTH VIET-NAM, IT IS BECAUSE YOU KNOW FULL WELL THAT UNDER
THE CURRENT LEADERSHIP, THE ARMY AND THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE
POPULATION WILL PUT A CHECK TO ALL YOUR ATTEMPTS TO SEIZE POWER
BY FORCE OR BY SUBVERSION, IN BRIEF, YOU WILL NOT HAVE ANY HOPE
OF SUCCEEDING IN YOUR DARK SCHEMES.
EVERYBODY IS ALSO AWARE THAT, THROUGH THE PERSONS OF
THE ELECTED LEADERS OF SOUTH VIET-NAM, IT IS THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE
DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS WHICH YOU WANT TO DESTROY, WHILE SAPPING
IN THIS WAY THE MORALE OF THE ARMY AND OF THE POPULATION AND
WHILE DISRUPTING BY THE SAME MANEUVER THE ORGANIZATION OF THE
STATE IN ITS BASIC STRUCTURES, SO THAT SOUTH VIET-NAM WOULD NO
LONGER OPPOSE AN EFFECTIVE RESISTANCE TO YOUR PLOTS.
.../...
PORTER

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By WJ3JL NARS Date 3/6/00

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SUBJECT CATAGORY: RVN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

MESSAGE:
IMMEDIATE
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O 281228Z SEP 72
FM USDEL FRANCE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6235 AMEMBASSY SAIGON IMMEDIATE 858

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK PRIORITY 4670
AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY 9224
AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH PRIORITY 1404
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
CINCPAC PRIORITY UNN
AMEMBASSY LONDONPRIORITY 4045
AMEMBASSY SEOUL PRIORITY 4043
AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY 5676
AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE PRIORITY 6549
COMUSMACV PRIORITY UNN

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AS FOR YOUR UNILATERAL DEMANDS ON THE MILITARY PLANE, NAMELY, THE UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF ALL THE REMAINING ALLIED FORCES IN SOUTH VIET-NAM, THE ENDING OF ALL ACTIONS OF SUPPORT TO THE ARMED FORCES OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM BY THE U.S. FORCES, THE CESSATION OF THE BOMBING OF NORTH VIET-NAM AND OF THE MINING OF NORTH VIETNAMESE PORTS, THESE DEMANDS ALSO PREVENT PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AND THUS CONSTITUTE A NO LESS SERIOUS OBSTANCLE TO PEACE.
INDEED, AS LONG AS YOU DO NOT SUBSCRIBE TO MEASURES OF DE-ESCALATION OF THE WAR, BUT ON THE CONTRARY INTENSIFY YOUR MILITARY EFFORTS, IT CANNOT BE QUESTION OFR THE REPUBLICOF VIETNAM AND ITS ALLIES TO CEASE THEIR MEASURES OF DEFENSE AND OF LEGITIMATE RESPONSE, AND THUS THE WAR WILL GO ON INDEFINITELY.
YOUR REFUSAL TO ACCEPT AN INTERNATIONALLY SUPERVISED GENERAL CEASEFIRE, CEASEFIRE WHICH WOULD HAVE PUT AN END TO THE FIGHTING NOT ONLY IN VIET-NAM BUT ALSO IN THE WHOLE OF THE INDOCHINESE PENINSULA, AND WHICH WOULD HAVE ENABLED THE VIETNAMESE PARTIES TO FIND AMONG THEMSELVES A SOLUTION TO THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS IN THE SILENCE OF ARMS, SHOWS IN THE MOST OBVIOUS MANNER THAT YOU HAVE NOT YET RENOUNCED THE SEARCH FOR MILITARY VICTORY AND, CONSEQUENTLY, IF PEACE IS NOT FOR TO MORROW,

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IT IS BECAUSE YOU WANT IT TO BE THAT WAY.
EVEN THE MANNER IN WHICH YOU ARE DEALING WITH YOUR OWN COMBATANTS, TAKEN PRISONER BY OUR FORCES, AND ARE DISPLAYING YOUR TOTAL INDIFFERENCE AS TO THEIR FATE, SHOWS YOUR LACK OF GOOD WILL IN THE SETTLEMENT OF ANY PROBLEM.
THUS, YOU CEASELESSLY TALK OF OBSTACLES TO PEACE BUT THERE ARE NO OBSTACLES OTHER THAN YOUR PRECONDITIONS AND YOUR UNILATERAL DEMANDS, YOUR REFUSAL TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE ELECTED GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM AND YOUR OBSTINACY IN WANTING TO DETERMINE BY YOURSELF THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF SOUTH VIET-NAM PRIOR TO ANY ELECTIONS, AS WELL AS YOUR STUBBORNNESS IN PURSUING A MILITARY VICTORY AND THE BLACKMAIL WHICH YOU ARE CARRYING OUT ON THE QUESTION OF THE RELEASE OF THE PRISONERS OF WAR HELD BY YOUR SIDE.
WHAT MUST BE CHANGED, THEREFORE, IS NOT THE LEADERS OR THE CURRENT REGIME IN SOUTH VIET-NAM, OR ITS POLICY, BUT INDEED THE WAY IN WHICH YOU APPROACH THE NEGOTIATIONS, YOUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM AND YOUR CONCEPT OF THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE POPULATION.
MOREOVER AND ABOVE ALL, THE HANOI COMMUNIST REGIME MUST PUT AN END TO ITS INTERVENTIONIST AND EXPANSIONIST POLICY, AND MUST ABANDON ITS DREAM OF DOMINATING THE ENTIRE INDOCHINESE PENINSULA AND ACCEPT PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE WITH ITS NEIGHBORS.
ONLY INSUCH CONDITIONS COULD PEACE AND STABILITY BE RESTORED TO THIS PART OF THE WORLD.
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM DOES NOT FOLLOW ANY POLICY OTHER THAN ONE BASED ON RESPECT FOR THE 1954 GENEVA ACCORDS ON THE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES IN INDOCHINA AND THE 1962 GENEVA AGREEMENTS GUARANTEEING THE NEUTRALITY OF LAOS. ALL THE AID IT IS RECEIVING FROM ITS ALLIES, ALL THE MEASURES IT HAS HAD TO TAKE AND ALL THE EFFORTS IT HAS EXERTED, HAVE ONLY ONE AIM: TO PRESERVE THE INDEPENDENCE AND THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF SOUTH VIETNAM AGAINST THE NORTH VIETNAMESE AGGRESSION, AND TO CREATE CONDITIONS ENABLING THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE POPULATION TO BE THE MASTER OF ITS DESTINIES.
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM IS THE FIRST TO WISH A RAPID RETURN TO PEACE FOR IT IS THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE POPULATION ITSELF WHICH HASPAID A HEAVY TOOL IN THE WAR, A WAR WHICH IT HAS NOT PROVOKED BUT WHICH HAS BEEN IMPOSED ON IT BY THE NORTH VIETNAMESE COMMUNIST LEADERS, THE DUTY OF ENDING THE WAR FALL SNOT ON OUR SIDE BUT ON THOSE WHO INITIATED IT.
BY THE PROPOSALS WHICH IT HAS PUT FORTH AT THE CONFERENCE TABLE, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM HAS MORE THAN PROVEN ITS SINCE RE
DESIRE FOR PEACE. BY ACCEPTING TO NEGOTIATE WITHOUT PRECONDITION, BY OFFERING TO MEET ITS OPPONENTS IN ANY SETTING AND ACCORDING TO ANY

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PROCEDURE , BY GIVING THEM THE POSSIBILITY FO PARTICIPATING ON AN EQUAL FOOTING WITH THE OTHER POLITICAL FORCES IN FREE ELECTIONS ON WHICH WOULD DEPEND THE FUTURE OF SOUTH VIET-NAM, IT HAS DISPLAYED THE BROADEST GENEROSITY.
NEVER IN HISTORY HAS ANY GOVERNMENT DEALT IN SUCH A WAY WITH A MINORITY WHICH IS TAKING UP ARMS AGAINST THE LEGAL AUTHORITIES IN A VAIN ATTEMPT TO OVERTHROW THEM, PARTICULARLY WHEN THIS MINORITY IS SERVING AS A TOOL OF AN AGGRESSION FROM THE OUTSIDE AND HAS COMMITTED SO MANY CRIMES AGAINST THE POPULATION AND HAS CAUSED SO MUCH DEVASTATION TO THE COUNTRY.
ON WHAT BASIS CAN YOU CRITICIZE A GOVERNMENT WHICH, IN ADDITION TO SUCH A GENEROUS OFFER, AGREES TO LEAVE TO AN INDEPENDENT BODY THE TASK OF ORGANIZING THE ELECTIONS AND TO PLACE THESE ELECTIONS UNDER INTERNATIONAL CONTROL, AND WHICH PLEDGES IN ADVANCE TO COMPLY WITH THE VERDICT OF THE POPULATION, WHATEVER THAT VERDICT MAY BE?
BY LEAVING ALL OPTIONS OPEN WITH REGARD TO THE FUTURE OF SOUTH VIET-NAM, A FUTURE WHICH WILL BE AS DECIDED BY THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE POPULATION ITSELF WITHOUT EXTERNAL INTERFERENCE, AND BY ADVOCATING A POLICY OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE WITH ALL THE COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD, WHATEVER THEIR POLITICAL REGIMES MAY BE, HAS THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM NOT OPENED THE DOOR WIDE TO PEACE AND RECONCILIA-
TION?
CAN YOU REASONABLY ACCUSE THIS GOVERNMENT OF BEING AN OBSTACLE TO PEACE WHEN IT STILL PROPOSES AN INTERNATIONALLY SUPERVIZED GENERAL CEASEFIRE WITH A VIEW TO ENDING THE KILLING AND FAVORING THE SEARCH FOR A POLITICAL SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT?
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,
IF YOU REALLY WISH TO SEE A RAPID END TO THE WAR, IF YOU DO NOT WANT TO BEAR THE HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY OF SHEDDING FURTHER THE BLOOK OF VIETNAMESE AND IF YOU DO NOT WISH TO WASTE EVEN MORE THE LIVE FORCES OF THE NATION, YOU MUST CEASE YOUR STERILE CAMPAIGN OF CALUMNIES AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM AND ABANDON YOUR ABSURD AN INADMISSIBLE DEMANDS, DO NOT PURSUE AT ALL COST AN IMPOSSIBLE MILITARY VICTORY AND ALSO DO NOT SEEK TO IMPOSE YOURSELF ON THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE POPULATION THROUGH YOUR FORMULA OF A "3-SEGMENT GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL CONCORD" BEFORE THIS POPULATION HAS EXPRESSED ITSELF.
ON THE CONTRARY, AGREE TO COMPLY WITH THE NORMAL RULES OF ALL NEGOTIATIONS, TAKE THE RISK OF AN HONEST AND DEMOCRATIC CONFRONTATION WITH THE OTHER POLITICAL FORCES IN SOUTH VIETNAM, CONTRIBUTE TO THE DE-ESCALATION O THE WAR AND PROVE TO THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE POPULATION THAT YOU DO NOT CONFUSE PEACE WITH THE TRIUMPH OF YOUR IDEOLOGY OR THE MISSION WHICH YOU GIVE TO YOURSELF, ALLEGEDLY TO "LIBERATE" IT, WITH THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION OF

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